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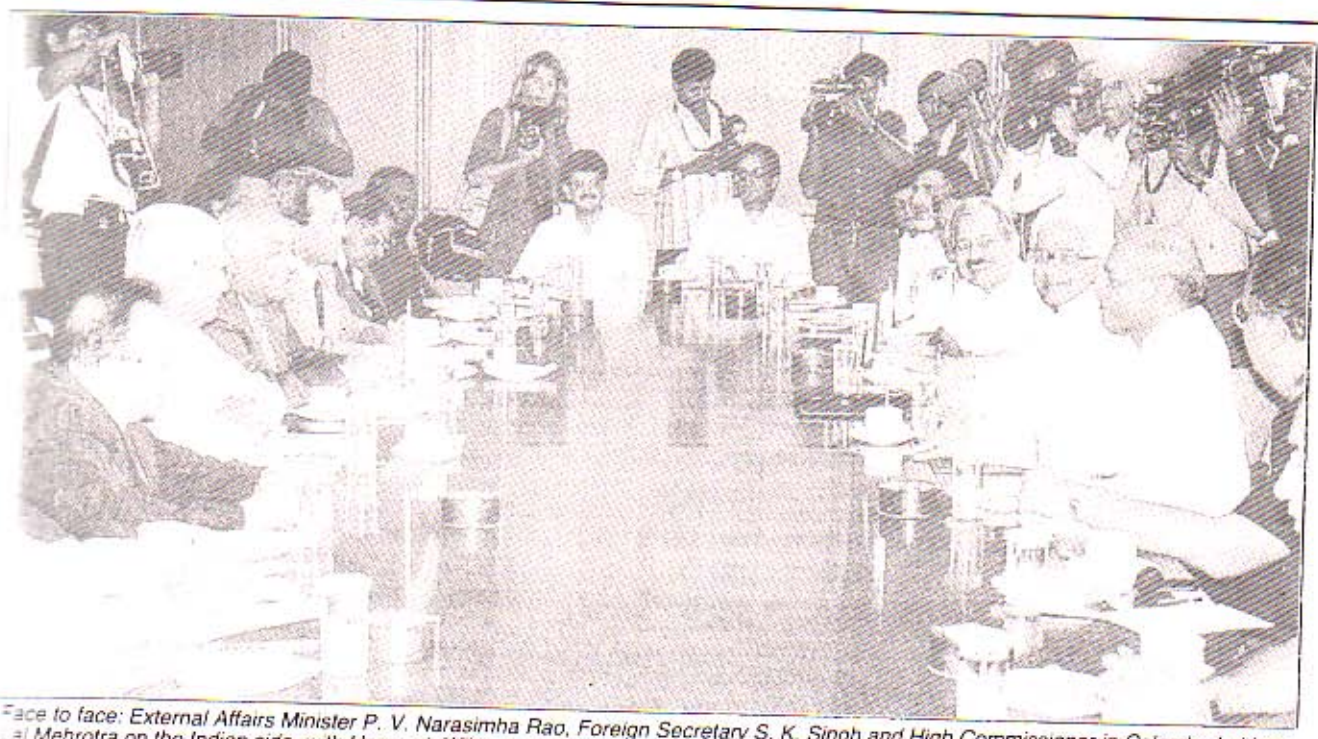

Face to face: External Affairs Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao, Foreign Secretary S. K. Singh and High Commissioner in Colombo Lakhan Lal Mehrotra on the Indian side, with Hameed, Wijeratne and Foreign Secretary Bernard Tilakratne on the Sri Lankan side, at the talks in New Delhi on July 29. (Courtesy of 'Frontline')

★ **Sri Lanka – Opposition Refuses to Play Ball on IPKF Pullout**

★ *Indo-Sri Lanka Relations, The Storm Blows Over, But the Fog Remains*

★ IPKF GOES BERSERK IN VALVETTITHURAI

★ **AMIRTHALINGAM – A MAN & A MISSION**

★ **Leading Buddhist Monk Shot Dead by JVP**

★ *Chinese Gunboats for Sri Lanka*

★ J R calls for 'National Govt'

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THE VALVETTITHURAI MASSACRE

The continued presence of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) in the North-Eastern Province has become a matter of acute controversy and near-confrontation beween the governments of both India and Sri Lanka. Even at the time of its arrival in Sri Lanka following the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement in July 1987, there was much opposition among the Sinhalese population. But within the Tamil community, there was a sense of relief in that its arrival coincided with the departure or confinement of the Sri Lankan security forces in their barracks. After two years, that sense of relief would appear to have disappeared, and on the contrary, the Tamil people's experience has shown that every army, not excluding the IPKF, behaves in the same way and when confronted it retaliates in revenge as atrociously as any other army. The manner in which the IPKF ran amok and went berserk in the town of Valvettithurai in northern Jaffna on August 2 must have brought back some of the worst memories of the Tamil people when they suffered for years at the hands of the Sri Lankan troops.

The excuse given by the Indian High Commission in Colombo that the civilians fell victims of crossfire between the Tigers and Indian soldiers is as unacceptable as it does not bear examination. People have been massacred far away from the scene of the LTTE ambush in which six IPKF men were killed. The retaliation by the IPKF has been indiscriminate and deliberately intended to take revenge against uninvolved civilians. Houses, shops, fishing boats and nets have been set alight and people have been shot and burnt in their homes and streets in an orgy of uncontrolled violence. Nor is the excuse that the LTTE deliberately provoked the retaliation by mounting the ambush from a crowded place, justifiable or acceptable. Even if the argument of 'deliberate provocation by the LTTE' is credible, the fact is that the IPKF fell for it and unarmed and defenceless civilians had to pay the price.

The Sri Lankan government wants an immediate withdrawal of the IPKF. The LTTE also is seeking an IPKF pullout without delay. The JVP wants the IPKF thrown out immediately. The EROS/EDF is asking for a phased withdrawal. The EPRLF, TELO, ENDLF combine wants the IPKF to remain until they think it is time for it to go. The main argument of the Indian government is that the IPKF pullout is linked to the questions of adequate and proper devolution of powers to the North-East Provincial Council and the physical security of the Tamil people. While it is not intended to question the bona fides of the Indian position, the unmitigated atrocities committed by IPKF personnel on August 2 upon the people of Valvettithurai must of necessity raise the question whether the Tamil people can in fact depend on the IPKF for their physical security.

It is not necessary for the Indian authorities to be reminded about the circumstances in which Indian direct involvement in the affairs of Sri Lanka took place. After years of indiscriminate military attacks on the Tamil people under the guise of dealing with 'Tamil terrorists', the Sri Lankan security forces launched the infamous 'Operation Liberation', otherwise known as the Vadamarachchi Operation, in early 1987. This was the time when the Indian government took up the case of the Sri Lankan Tamils before international fora, including the United Nations, and castigated the Sri Lankan authorities for committing virtual genocide against the Tamil people. India then contemptuously and rightly rejected the fallacious claims by Sri Lanka that civilian casualties and damage to civilian and public property were caused in the 'crossfire' or were the result of provocation. One has no hesitation in saying that the claims and denials by the Indian High Commission in Colombo concerning the August 2 incidents in Valvettithurai are equally fallacious.

In the face of incontrovertible evidence, concealing, denying or covering-up excesses or atrocities committed by security forces is tantamount to sanctioning or condoning such excesses and atrocities. and in fact such efforts will only encourage the forces to commit more of the same in the future. The evidence of what occurred on August 2 at Valvettithurai is there for all to see. The Indian authorities and the IPKF High Command have a duty and an obligation, and in fact are left with no alternative if they are to establish their bona fides to cause the carrying out of a thorough investigation into what happened at Valvettithurai, identify the culprits and meet out condign punishment commensurate with the crimes they had committed. Anything less will be unacceptable.

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IPKF PULLOUT – OPPOSITION REFUSED TO PLAY BALL

by Rita Sebastian from Colombo

Four key issues (see box) that dominated the deliberations between Delhi and the Colombo government over IPKF withdrawal from the island, was put to Parliament on July 10th and 11th to enlist opposition support, for presenting a united stand to India on the issues.

Sadly for the government, and for the country, there was no such support forthcoming. Sri Lanka Freedom Party's President and leader of the opposition Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike set the pace by castigating the government for a 'faulty foreign policy' that had provided India with an opportunity to interfere in the affairs of the country.

The SLFP position on the accord and the IPKF was well known said Mrs Bandaranaike and called this attempt by the government to salvage its prestige as one in a 'long line of shallow and meaningless gimmicks'. All the opposition speakers charged the government with concealing more than it was revealing, and wanted a categorical statement that IPKF pullout was not linked with devolution to the North-East Provincial Council.

The chief speaker for the government, Minister of Foreign Affairs and State Minister for Defence Ranjan Wijoratne denied concealing the substance of the deliberations in Delhi as well as devolution-IPKF linkage.

India had accepted, he said, the Colombo government position that IPKF pullout a purely political exercise, was not linked with devolution. Mrs Bandaranaike's statement to Parliament said Mr. Wijoratne was 'opportunistic, evasive and childish' and the SLFP not taking a stand on the issues once again demonstrated its known posture of not co-operating with the government on national issues.

What finally took place in Parliament on the two days reserved for the debate was, besides anti-IPKF rhetoric a tirade against an 'inept' government that had failed to negotiate bilateral issues through known norms of international diplomacy.

It was SLFP's Stanley Tillekeratne who dubbed the unilateral announcement made by President Ranasinghe Premadasa that the IPKF must pullout in entirety by July twentyninth, the second anniversary of the signing of the Indo-Lanka accord, as the now famous 'Bataramulla Proclamation'. He made it quite clear that the opposition was not going to be drawn into an exercise of 'filling in the blanks' for the government.

At the cabinet meeting that followed the two-day debate, President Premadasa, besides taking note of the opposition contribution gave ear to his Cabinet Ministers. While the moderates like Ministers Lalith Athulathmudali, Gamini Dissanayake, Hameed and Thondaman were all for avoiding confrontation and continuing the dialogue to get the IPKF out as quickly as possible, hardliners like Transport Minister Wijepala Mendis and Education Minister W.G. Lokubandara were for getting the IPKF out at once.

What was interesting however was that after all the talking it all boiled down to the four issues, which at first glance looked deceptively simple, with the two sides stating their positions. The opposition refused to take it at face value having been apprised of the thinking of the two key men, Rajiv Gandhi and Ranasinghe Premadasa in the correspondence made public last month.

Prime Minister Gandhi had made it quite clear that IPKF withdrawal should proceed simultaneously with devolution to the North-East Provincial Council. Now however India has linked withdrawal with the security of all the communities in the north-east region, a tongue in cheek statement

POSITIONS TAKEN UP BY TWO DELEGATIONS

Issues	Sri Lanka	India
1. Time schedule for withdrawal of the remaining IPKF contingent.	Withdrawal to be completed by the middle of September '89. If any troops remain thereafter due to logistical constraints they should be non operational.	Withdrawal on the basis of 3 ship loads per week of 1500 to 1600 personnel and equipment (including 3 weeks preparatory period) calculated to take 28 to 30 weeks. i.e. up to February 1990 (subject to the Indian position in Item 4)
2. Cessation of offensive military operations by the IPKF.	Immediate and unqualified: by reciprocating LTTE cease-fire.	Unilateral suspension of offensive military operations. Subject to specific operational conditions to be announced separately, for a period of 15 days, to be extended once the LTTE joins and participates in the North-East Peace Committee.
3. Review implementation of Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of July '87.	Implementation of the Agreement not linked with the withdrawal. However, the Sri Lanka delegation clarified the implementation effected and the steps to be taken to set up the Provincial Police Force, and facilitate the effective functioning of the Provincial Councils.	The position of Sri Lanka delegation acknowledged.
4. Safety and security of all communities in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.	Entirely a matter for the Sri lanka Goverment, which assumes full responsibility. However agree to a committee to review and coordinate security arrangements during the withdrawal of the IPKF, comprising the Governor of the North Eastern Province, the Commander of the Sri Lanka Army, the IGP of Sri Lanka and the General Officer Commanding the IPKF.	To set up a committee comprising the Chief Minister of the North-Eastern Province, Commander of the Sri Lanka Army, the General Officer Commanding the IPKF and the IGP of Sri Lanka to review and advise on the measures for safety and security of all the communities of the North-Eastern Province, and coordinate arrangements as the phased withdrawal of the IPKF proceeds.

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considering two recent incidents in 'IPKF occupied territory'.

Last fortnight in eastern Akkaraipattu, a Muslim provincial council member and two others including a Sinhalese woman were gunned down by an armed ex-militant group right under the nose of the IPKF.

This is nothing new. Atrocities by all sides, ex-militants, militants and the IPKF in the past two years have been legion. And so the Indian contention that Indian troops must remain in the country to assure the security of the people in the region falls flat on its face.

In the two years there has been no return to any meaningful civilian administration, and a civilian population trapped between the Indian troops and the feuding Tamil groups. have had to battle it out as best they can.

Today IPKF protection extends only to the groups that Delhi has decided is the leadership for the Tamils, but it has failed to realise that peace cannot be returned to the region at the point of a gun.

The much talked of secret agreement between former President Jayewardene and Prime Minister Gandhi, signed in New Delhi on November 7th (see box), which was believed to give India a stronger hold on the island nation, finally surfaced in Parliament during the debate on the IPKF withdrawal.

What the letter in fact implied was that in the establishing of the provincial councils 'the legislation creating them and their functioning as referred to at the discussions will be given the most serious and urgent consideration and steps will be taken to include such changes as are mutually deemed necessary for more effective devolution, better functioning of the proposed provincial council and the complete implementation of the Indo-Lanka agreement'.

Among some of the matters referred to in the agreement were size of provincial councils, size of Board Ministers, provincial council list and problems with regard to land and land settlement.

To the opposition this was another instance of an agreement negotiated in secret, without the knowledge of parliament and the people.

Leaving the agreement aside the most significant of the proposals arrived at in Delhi was the forming of a peace committee to bring all the Tamil groups together. Every single Tamil group is to be represented in the committee which will be presided over by a Cabinet Minister.

India's insistence on such a committee is to force the LTTE into a firm committment to drop their guns and join mainstream politics.

Will the LTTE agree to participate in such a committee? What is tragic is that all the Tamil groups are never short for words when they speak about 'the aspirations of our people and their well-being' but yet when they have a chance to get together in the interests of the Tamil people their public posturings are thrown to the winds.

No one can shut his eyes to the reality that it is not whether the IPKF goes or stays that matters in the final analysis, but whether the north-east region can be returned to normalcy and peace if the groups remain apart and continue their feuding.

The Colombo government has repeatedly called on the IPKF to cease all offensive operations against the LTTE, citing the LTTE's ceasefire declared against the Sri Lankan government as well as against all the country's citizens. India refused to accede to the request. On the contrary it has intensified its operations against the LTTE and in the last fortnight killed a number of LTTE cadres, among them some of the second rankers of the LTTE leadership.

In the 'withdrawal package', however, India has agreed to a unilateral fifteen-day ceasefire, for a start and playing it by ear after that. President Premadasa feels that fifteen days is too short a period for the LTTE to prove their bonafides and would prefer at least four weeks.

Whatever decisions India and Sri Lanka finally arrive at, there is the hard fact that Indian troops will remain on Sri Lankan soil until the Indian elections are over. The Colombo government's plan to have the troops out by mid-September does not seem likely in the least. Meeting halfway would work-out to sometime in December.

Although the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna agitation is not wholly on the IPKF issue, the Indian troops out of the country will definitely defuse the very explosive situation in the country today. Plantation Industries Minister Gamini Dissanayake who has come in for censure by his cabinet colleagues for his open criticism of the security situation in the country has likened the spate of killings island-wide to a 'Pol-pot like regime in Cambodia' that left one point five million people dead.

'Is not the same thing happening in the country today? queried the Minister in a speech he made recently. 'there are bodies in every junction burnt to ashes. Are those done by the Green Tigers, the Yellow Tigers or the scorpions? The entire country is paralysed and the politicians watch from where they receive applause. We have to go on a new path. The politics of today must change'.

Is there any hope for a country that is sliding daily into anarchy and economic ruin? Will the democratic institutions be able to survive the onslaught of so many forces of violence is the question everybody in the country is asking today.

The text of the letter signed by President Jayewardene and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is as follows.

The visit of President J. R. Jayewardene to Delhi provided an opportunity to the two sides to review the progress of the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

The Indian side pointed out to the Sri Lanka Government the imperative need to incorporate some additional provisions into the proposed legislation in order to make the functioning of the Provisional Councils, and the devolution more meaningful, adequate and self-contained. The Sri Lankan side pointed out that if the draft legislation now before Parliament is not passed into law as approved by the Supreme Court, and the Provincial Councils are not immediately set up in their present proposed form, the process of implementation will be avoidably delayed. On the establishment of the Provincial Councils, the legislation creating them and their functioning as referred to at the discussions will be given the most serious and urgent consideration and steps will be taken to include such changes as are mutually deemed necessary for more effective devolution, better functioning of the proposed Provincial Councils and for the complete implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

J.R. Jayewardene
President of Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka
Rajiv Gandhi
Prime Minister of the Republic of India.
New Delhi
November 7, 1987

List of some of the matters referred to in the document dated November 7, 1987 signed in New Delhi by the President of Sri Lanka and the Prime Minister of India.

1. Size of the Provincial Councils.
2. Size of the Board of Ministers.
3. Governor's discretionary powers.
4. Parliament's powers to amend the devolution package.
5. Parliament's powers to legislate on subjects in the Provincial list.
6. Matters relating to the Interim provision (Section 37).
7. Emergency Provisions.
8. Imposition of President's rule on the ground of failure of Governor to comply with directives.
9. Provincial Council List.
10. Problems with regard to land and land settlement.
11. Any other matters by mutual agreement.

21 IPKF MEN KILLED

Twenty-one soldiers of the IPKF, including officers, were killed in two separate incidents in Trincomalee and Vavuniya on 25 July.

Fifteen soldiers, including an officer, were killed on the spot and several seriously injured in a Sinhala village in Kantalai area in the Trincomalee district when the vehicle in which they were travelling was blown apart in a landmine explosion at 4 pm on 25 July. The explosion has been attributed to the LTTE.

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51 KILLED; 70 INJURED; 123 HOUSES, 43 SHOPS, 4 CINEMAS, 69 VEHICLES, 12 FISHING BOATS, 129 NETS SET ON FIRE

IPKF GOES BERSERK FOLLOWING LTTE AMBUSH

Chris Nuttall in Colombo

Soldiers of the Indian peacekeeping force are reported to have gone on the rampage and massacred 51 Tamil civilians in the worst atrocity of their two-year occupation of the north and east of Sri Lanka.

Reliable independent accounts of the massacre in the northern coastal town of Valvedditturai reached Colombo yesterday (11.8.89), after an attempt by the Indian army to cover up the incident.

The massacre, during which troops tried to raze the town, took place on August 2, but details were suppressed by an Indian curfew. Reporters were not allowed past roadblocks and even doctors were barred from the Area.

According to the first independent witness reports reaching Colombo yesterday, the victims, including women, children and the elderly, were either burned to death in their homes, lined up against walls and shot, or made to lie face down on the ground where they were shot in the back.

The massacre is thought to have been provoked by the ambush by Tamil Tiger guerrillas of an Indian patrol in a busy market place in the town.

The Indian High Commission in Colombo said six Indian soldiers, five rebels and an officer were killed and nine other soldiers were wounded. It yesterday admitted for the first time that there had been civilian casualties, but said that only 24 people were killed and that they had died in crossfire.

But independent sources said bodies were found all over the town of 15,000 people and that they could not all have died in crossfire.

Valvedditturai, the birthplace of the Tigers' leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran, is a guerrilla power base and the soldiers appear to have run amok, taking revenge.

Analysts here say the rebels, who have been campaigning for an Indian withdrawal, may have staged the ambush deliberately to provoke the violent reaction, knowing it would increase pressure on India to leave.

Of 51 people killed, 47 bodies have now been identified, including those of six women and seven children. Twenty other people were seriously wounded and 50 suffered minor injuries.

Several badly wounded people had to have legs or arms amputated.

In the attack, 123 houses, 43 shops, four cinemas, a library, 69 vehicles, 12 fishing boats and 129 nets were set on fire.

The town is now virtually deserted after most of the population fled. More than 5,000 refugees are being housed in Hindu temples, churches and schools.

Aid workers appealed for help to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and the League of Red Cross Societies. The soldiers burned nearly all food stocks and supplies are expected to run out by tomorrow.

One witness said: 'When the curfew was finally over, the people burned the bodies of their relatives – those that had not already been burnt in their homes. They were burned on the spot where they had been killed'.

India has been trying to justify the force's extended stay on the island, against the Sri Lankan government's wishes, by saying it has to ensure the safety and security of the Tamil community. The Sri Lankan cabinet was meeting last night to decide on its response to India's offer to pull out its remaining 40,000 troops by February.

(The Guardian, 12.8.89).

CWC ON INDO-LANKA STALEMATE

The Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC) said in a communique dated 25 July that its Political Committee had resolved at a special meeting that the CWC should take immediate steps to focus attention on the need to end the present stalemate' between the Government of India and Sri Lanka and 'to restore as quickly as possible the friendly ties which have traditionally existed between the two countries'.

It added that the Political Committee of the CWC 'Calls upon the Government of Sri Lanka and the Government of India to take immediate steps to review the situation with a view to re-establishing the friendly relations which have traditionally existed between the two countries'.

The communique said that:

The Committee noted that the stopping of the phased withdrawal of Indian troops from Sri Lanka begun in January 1989 has led to misunderstandings and suspicions. There is no reason why India cannot resume the phased withdrawal of its troops and to have consultations about the completion of the withdrawal within a

The refusal of Sri Lanka Government to participate in Foreign Minister's meeting of the SAARC and its unwillingness to host the SAARC Summit in November have increased the differences between the two governments. The CWC feels that the SAARC meeting will provide an opportunity for Sri Lanka to exchange views and narrow the differences. Therefore every effort must be made to put SAARC back on the rails.

The Ceylon Workers Congress is alarmed by the racist communal anti-Indian cry which has been raised by some elements and declares that if this is not checked immediately, it can lead to unrest and disturbances in the up-country plantation areas.

The Government should, therefore take immediate steps, in the interest of amity and unity, to make such communal racist campaigns treasonable offences punishable under the law.

Both the Government of India and Sri Lanka should realise the supreme importance of maintaining friendly and mutually reciprocal relations between the two countries.

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NO CLAIMANTS FOR ASSASSINS' BODIES

Colombo Magistrate, M.M.A. Gafoor, on 20 July ordered the burial at the General Cemetery at Kanatte in Colombo of the bodies of Rasaiah Aravindarajah alias Visu, Peter Aloysius Leon and Kandiah Sivakumar alias Arivu who died of gunshot wounds on July 13.

The three men were killed in a shootout at the Bullers Road residence of TULF leaders, A. Amirthalingam, V. Yogeswaran and M. Sivasithamparam on July 13 by Amirthalingam's security guards. The three were the gunmen who shot dead Amirthalingam and Yogeswaran and seriously wounded TULF President M. Sivasithamparam. The assassins had been gunned down by the security guards when they attempted to escape.

The inquest commenced after the bodies were identified by Wilson W. Mariyadas of Anderson Flats, Narahenpita and Nandarajah Sathyanandan Kumar of Kashyapa Road, Colombo 5. No relatives of the dead men had come forward to claim the bodies until the date of the inquest, 20 July. From July 13 up to the time of identification, the bodies were lying at the Colombo police morgue.

FORMER PRESIDENT CALLS FOR 'NATIONAL GOVERNMENT'

Former President J.R. Jayawardene confirmed that he had called for the establishment of a 'national government' as the best way to solve the present crisis in Sri Lanka.

The former President said that the 'reigning United National Party should join with the main opposition Sri Lankan Freedom Party and other parties and set up a national government to solve the present crisis'.

In reply to a question as to who should head such a government if it came to be formed, the ex-president declined to comment but ruled himself out as a potential head of such a government by saying, 'My decision to retire from politics is a permanent one'.

POLICE FIELD HQrs RAIDED

A gang, allegedly belonging to the JVP/DJV, got away with many weapons including two T-56 rifles, some SLRs and T-81 rifles when they carried out an armed attack on the Police Field Head Quarters at Thimbirigasyaya in Colombo on 2 August.

Investigations had revealed that the attackers had failed to penetrate the armoury but had despite resistance from the Police and Air Force mobile patrol, grabbed some weapons from an outer section of the building. Three policemen and two air force personnel were injured in the raid which took place at about 6.30 pm.

The getaway green Mitsubishi van was later found abandoned at Nedimala in the Dehiwela area and the vehicle was smeared with bloodstains indicating that some of the raiders might have been injured. Some military-style uniforms were also found in the van.

Coinciding with the raid, several bomb explosions were reported from Pettah, Borella and Kirulapone, and it is believed that these were caused to distract and divert attention.

A three-man committee chaired by a Deputy Inspector General of Police and two officers from the Army and Air Force has been appointed to investigate suspected 'insider' participation and collaboration in the raid.

'DEVOLUTION, A PRECONDITION FOR IPKF PULLOUT'

More devolved powers to the North-East Provincial Council by enacting further amendments to the 13th Amendment to the Constitution must precede the withdrawal of the IPKF, Chief Minister A. Varatharaja Perumal told a government Ministerial delegation comprising Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne, Minister of Plantations Gamini Dissanayake and Minister of Textile and Rural Industries S. Thondaman which visited Trincomalee on 24 July.

Prior to the Ministerial visit to Trincomalee, a request made to the Chief Minister by the President to make a visit to Colombo for discussions was turned down by the CM on the grounds of lack of adequate security.

According to Gamini Dissanayake, the Chief Minister had said that although they had given up demands of federalism and separatism and joined the democratic mainstream, there had been no progress at all. The Chief Minister had pointed out that inadequate devolution even in terms of the law, the lack of political will together with bureaucratic and administrative inertia and lethargy were the reasons for conflicts among the different communities.

Commenting on the talks between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government, Mr. Perumal had said that it was an irony that the government was negotiating with a group that had killed the largest number of Sinhalese, including babies, while giving stepmotherly treatment to those who had accepted the democratic process.

TV BROADCASTER SHOT DEAD

Premakeerthi de Alwis, the 44 year old popular Sinhala radio broadcaster, TV announcer and programmer and lyric writer was shot dead by six unidentified gunmen allegedly belonging to the JVP/DJV outside his residence in Homagama on 31 July.

The six-member gang had stormed his house at about 8.30 pm, dragged Mr. Alwis out and shot him at point-blank range. The bullet-riddled body was later recovered on the Homagama-Katwana Road some two hundred yards away from his home.

'TAMIL NATIONAL COUNCIL' FORMED

A joint front called the Tamil National Council was constituted on July 25 by three Tamil militant groups, the EPRLF, ENDLF and TELO.

The EPRLF General Secretary K. Pathmanabha, TELO Secretary A. Selvam and P. Rajaratnam of the ENDLF held a joint press conference at the 'Seven Islands' hotel in Trincomalee to announce the formation of the Council.

Explaining the purpose of forming the Tamil National Council, Mr. Pathmanabha said, 'We have constituted this Council today to achieve the ideals and aspirations of the Tamil speaking people to establish and exercise their inalienable right of self-determination, a state in the Tamil homeland that shall be fully responsible for the people. We appeal to all political organisations functioning among the Tamil speaking people to come forward to join the Tamil National Council and work together to achieve this ideal'.

He also attributed the killing of TULF leaders Amirthalingam and Yogeswaran and PLOTE leader Uma Maheswaran to the direct outcome of talks between the government and the LTTE.

Mr. Pathmanabha added that the rights of the Muslims living in the North-East Province would be fully guaranteed and safeguarded. The rights of the Sinhalese people living in the province would not be infringed.

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LEADING BUDDHIST MONK GUNNED DOWN

The Ven. Kotikawatte Sadhatissa Thero Chief Adhikrana Sanganayake of the Colombo Navatotamuna and Chief Incumbent of the Kolonnawa Raja Maha Viharaya was shot dead allegedly by a gang of five men belonging to the DJV/JVP on 3 August within the precincts of his temple.

At the inquest held subsequently it was revealed that the priest had received abusive and threatening telephone calls after he had made a speech broadcast over national TV in support of the government.

The cremation took place on 9 August in the presence of a large crowd.

DONS OPPOSE AWARD OF DEGREES WITHOUT EXAMS

All academics, from the highest to the lowest, vehemently oppose the idea of awarding degrees to final year university students without holding examinations', Prof. Osmund Jayaratne, President of the Federation of University Teachers Associations said in a statement.

He added that they would even consider resigning from their posts if such a step was taken because the standard of the universities was at stake. The Professor was responding to a recent proposal put forward by the University Grants Commission to confer temporary degrees on final year university students without them having to sit for their final examinations.

It is to be noted that most of the universities in the south of the island have remained closed for nearly two years due to student unrest and a campaign of disruption instigated by the JVP sponsored Inter University Student Federation.

STF TO BE BEEFED-UP

The Special Task Force (STF) is to recruit more personnel in a bid to fortify the security cover now being provided by this paramilitary force to a number of sensitive installations in Colombo and to Sinhala hamlets in the eastern district of Amparai.

Senior security officials declined to divulge the additional number to be recruited, but it is believed that it would be a substantial increase.

The STF comprises specially trained commandos, but do not fall within the regular army or police force. To begin with they underwent training in Pakistan. They were a dreaded paramilitary force when they operated in the Eastern Province before the Indo-Sri Lanka agreement and accounted for a large number of extra-judicial killings and 'disappearances'. Since the Accord, they were confined to barracks, but still maintain a number of camps in the Batticaloa and Amparai districts.

Some units of the STF have now been moved to the southern province to 'deal' with escalating JVP/DJV violence.

'BUDDHIST MONKS DEMONSTRATE

Over 5000 'Buddhist monks', some of whom were masked, almost all of them youthful in appearance, staged a demonstration near the Maligakande temple in Colombo on 24 July carrying anti-government placards and chanting anti-government and anti-Indian slogans. The slogans they shouted called for an end to killings, abductions, disappearances and operations by so-called anti-subversive organisations.

Not a single demonstrator was in civilian clothes.

SOCIALIST ALLIANCE AGAINST PRICE INCREASES

'The United Socialist Alliance vehemently protests against the recent increases in the prices of bread, flour, sugar, and Lakspray products. In fact the prices of essential goods have been sharply and continuously rising throughout this year. According to independent economic analysts, the rate of inflation has already topped 30%, the highest ever in recent times', states a press release issued on 26 July by the United Socialist Alliance comprising four left parties in Sri Lanka.

The USA statement added, 'It has become apparent that the government attempts to cast further burdens on the people under cover of the hysteria built up in the country over the issue of the withdrawal of the IPKF. The withdrawal of the IPKF is our objective as well. Yet we wish to prevent a needless confrontation between the two governments, and we call upon all concerned to settle this and other connected matters in a peaceful manner. However, we strongly condemn the resort to communalist and racialist hysteria as a means of evading responsibility for the hideous reality of the plight of our people'.

GUNARATNAM SHOT DEAD

Business magnate, K. Gunaratnam was shot dead by an unidentified assassin riding on the pillion of a motor cycle near the British Ceylon Corporation (BCC) at Sri Sangaraja Mawatha in Colombo on 9 August.

The 68-year-old Mr. Gunaratnam, one of the richest men in the country, was being driven to his Rosmead Place residence to have his lunch when a motor cycle overtook his Datsun car and the pillion rider fired at Gunaratnam who was sitting in the front passenger seat. Struck by at least two bullets, the multi-millionaire was killed on the spot.

The shooting took place a short distance away from one of Mr. Gunaratnam's business concerns, K.G. Industries.

A semi-automatic pistol is believed to have been used in the killing, the motive for which was not immediately known. 'It looks like a planned and professional job', a high-ranking policeman commented.

Police said they were trying to ascertain whether Mr Gunaratnam had been killed by subversives or whether it was a 'contract job'. There was also a reported industrial dispute involving one of the late business tycoon's concerns, which police were yesterday trying to get a line on.

Police officials said a full-scale probe into the killing had been launched and all angles of the case were being gone into. Police were also trying to find out whether Mr Gunaratnam had received any threats during recent weeks.

CHINESE GUN-BOATS

The Chinese government has 'responded positively' to Sri Lanka's request for the purchase of Chinese-built ships and gun-boats for use by the Sri Lankan navy. Defence Ministry sources indicated that there was a possibility of a Chinese delegation visiting Sri Lanka or a Sri Lankan delegation visiting China to finalise the deal.

Since the 1971 insurgency the Chinese government has supplied the Sri Lankan security forces with various types of defence equipment. China had previously supplied the Sri Lankan navy seven 'Shanghai' class gun-boats. Later during the 1984-85 period, the government purchased fast attack craft from the Israeli Defence Forces.

In the present state of relations between India and Sri Lanka, the decision to strengthen the Sri Lankan navy is said to be not without significance.

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THE STORM BLOWS OVER, BUT THE FOG REMAINS

S. Sivanayagam

While the war of words between the Indian and Sri Lankan governments was assuming an undignified high pitch, with India becoming the major sufferer in terms of international as well as domestic image, the word-war was soon replaced by a show of muscle. On the 27th of July, INDIA ABROAD correspondent Tarun Basu reported from Colombo:

'About 60 Indian commandos landed today at a military airport here to protect Indian diplomats two days before the expiry of President Premadasa's deadline for the withdrawal of the IPKF. . . . The commandos, mostly belonging to the Indo-Tibetan Border Police will be accommodated in camps in the sprawling premises of India House, the residence of the Indian High Commissioner. "There was no other alternative", said a diplomatic source, "this should be a message for the Sri Lankan government".'

On the same day, an unknown 'Special Correspondent' reported from New Delhi to THE HINDU:

'India has moved one division of its infantry as well as two independent brigades to southern India, along with four squadrons of Jaguar, Mirage and MIG-23 BN strike aircraft to deter any attacks against its nationals (!) and to pre-empt any adventurism on the part of the Sri Lankan government. . . . An Indian Naval Task Force headed by the aircraft carrier INS Viraat and comprising a Kashin class cruiser and several frigates is also off Colombo with its own complement of airborne fire power and Marines that may be required for any operation. . . .

As if the scenario was not frightening enough, a Bangladesh mass circulation vernacular daily ITTEFAQ quoting 'American Intelligence sources' said that Sri Lankan Armed Forces were 'girding up their loins' to take over as President Ranasinghe Premadasa has put the security of the island state into jeopardy. The paper claimed that a coup was imminent. 'The military coup might occur any day before the Indo-Lankan tussle takes the shape of a full-scale war. (!)

Now that the dreaded 29th of July has come and gone and the panic merchants have exhausted their wares, one has to read the implications behind the show of excessive military build-up by India during the final week in July. One might even pass over the landing of the 60 Indian commandos in Colombo as a precautionary measure to protect Indian lives and property – on the argument that the Sri Lankan security forces themselves might find it difficult to handle a highly volatile situation in the city. Moreover, the commandos, (unlike the IPKF) were reported to have come with proper papers, passports and visas, and with the permission of the Premadasa government. But how does one explain the formidable movement of divisions, brigades, squadrons, cruisers and frigates? Surely mighty India did not intend to go to war with tiny Sri Lanka? Was the objective to protect Indian nationals and property? That again makes no sense. It would be like using an army of bull-dozers to wipe out an ant-hill. Was it over-reaction? Was it in anticipation of 'foreign forces' coming to the aid of the Sri Lankan government? Was it to invade Sri Lanka and occupy it? Was it to pre-empt a coup? Or to stage one? No. None of these sounds convincing. The only rational conclusion lies in one word – INTIMIDATION.

An intimidatory Indian diplomacy in the South Asian region, backed by a show of naked power has now come to stay. The old-fashioned 'art of diplomacy' no longer prevails. It was I think Dr. Samuel Johnson, the once-celebrated English literary figure, who told his biographer Boswell that while it was useful to carry a big stick along it would be prudent to speak softly at the same time. While everyone can see the big stick that India carries in the neighbourhood, the disappointing factor is that Indian diplomacy has yet to learn to speak softly! and, to present a good face to the world. As far as neighbourhood diplomacy goes, the need to perfect it into an art is possibly considered unnecessary because geography may have dictated the view that surrounded as she is by small, weak neighbours the big stick is all that India requires. The exception may be Pakistan with which country India has to deal with a certain amount of caution and respect, because of the shadow of a superpower behind and the uncertainty of Chines intentions.

The sudden easing of tensions 48 hours before the looming July 29 crisis was by no means – as is made out – a triumph of diplomacy. In fact, one has to suspect that the build-up of tension was itself deliberately done, with a section of the Indian media contributing towards that process. No one expected an IPKF pull-out by July 29, least of all President Premadasa himself. The deadline request was only a ruse to bring the IPKF issue into crisis proportions, in order to compel India to make a COMMITMENT on an eventual withdrawal. It has to be remembered that in the perception of the Premadasa government, the Sinhalese people, the JVP, and indeed in the case of the popular Indian thinking itself, Indian government attitudes and statements encouraged the belief that some part of the IPKF would continue to remain in Sri Lanka for all time. Even Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi speaking to the Army Commanders in late April spoke only of getting back 'the bulk of the IPKF'. Optimistically, a 'bulk withdrawal' could mean 30,000 – 40,000 out of an estimated 50,000 troops. What was to happen to the remaining 20,000 or 10,000?

Opposition leader Ramakrishna Hegde was reported to have agreed with a questioner in Pondicherry that the government was trying to 'find some kind of justification to stay back in Sri Lanka'. On January 1 this year, the TIMES OF INDIA carried a cartoon by R.K. Laxman, a man who through laughter could drive home a point quicker than a verbose political commentator. The cartoon showed an IPKF soldier showing his palm to an astrologer who says: 'Very likely you will be a Lanka Citizen and stay on for good!'. This then was the fear in Sri Lanka – that there would be a permanent IPKF presence in Sri Lanka, bolstering a regime of its choice, with the possible motivation of retaining the northeast as an Indian 'protectorate'.

The Indo-Sri Lankan communique of 29th July: 'The President of Sri Lanka has requested the Prime Minister of India to recommence the withdrawal of the IPKF. The withdrawal will recommence on the 29th July 1989', ... simple as the words may sound, carry a major diplomatic advantage for President Premadasa. Firstly, it entrenches President Premadasa's position that under the Indo-Sri Lanka accord, it is obligatory on the part of India to withdraw her troops when requested by the President of Sri Lanka. Secondly, India has committed itself to a total withdrawal, however long it takes, or however phased it is. It is this timeframe that has now to be decided through bilateral talks. The communique also delinks the question of devolution of power with an IPKF withdrawal, which exactly was what President Premadasa had been insisting upon. But of course, as far as the two governments are concerned, this is not the end of the story. While President Premadasa has made his point through the communique, this might mollify Sinhala opinion but it cannot be considered adequate enough for him to gain leverage either with the JVP or the LTTE. As for India, the Rajiv Gandhi administration has to ensure that President Premadasa does not make any more unpredictable moves and embarrass the Congress-I government at a time when elections are round the corner.

Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Ranjan Wijeratne, tall, stately, with an elegant thatch of grey hair, is now occupying the centre stage in New Delhi, aided by the experienced, once globe-trotting ex-Foreign Minister A.C.S. Hameed. New Delhi must have

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A MAN AND A MISSION

by T.S. Subramaniam

The high-profile Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) leader, A Amirthalingam, gunned down in Colombo on July 13, relentlessly worked in the background till his last for one cause: the unity of the Sri Lankan Tamil groups.

An incident typifies his commitment to the cause. During the south Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) summit in Bangalore in November 1986 when Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) leader V. Prabakaran was flown to Bangalore for discussions with Indian officials, the other militant groups complained to Amirthalingam about the pre-eminence given to the LTTE. His reaction was typical. Quoting a Tamil proverb, he asked: 'Does it matter who pounds, if there will be rice?'

At Thimpu in July and August 1985, when all the Tamil groups acted in unison at the talks with the Sri Lankan official delegation, his hopes rose. But later fratricidal clashes between the groups saddened him and he remarked, 'If only we had remained united, we would have hoisted the Eelam flag long ago'. He was happy when the Eelam National Liberation Front, an umbrella group consisting of the LTTE, the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation, Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation and the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front was formed, and was equally disheartened when it split.

A staunch advocate of a non-violent struggle to achieve the Tamils' rights, he was deeply influenced by India's freedom struggle. With a phenomenal memory, he could recall the exact date of Mahatma Gandhi's fast against the Naokhali riots or hartal against the Rowlatt Act in 1919. He once said, 'The Tamil people are in a minority on this island. Placed as we are in this situation, we fear that the unarmed Tamil people can only struggle in a non-violent way and win our legitimate rights. Ours is a non-violent struggle. If the youth feel otherwise, we have no quarrel with them. we cannot follow them.

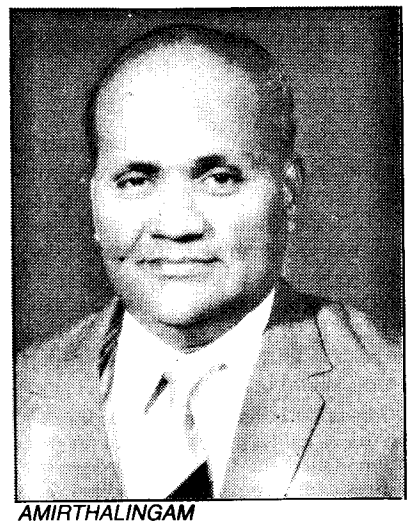
While Mahatma Gandhi espoused non-violence, Subhas Chandra Bose was forming an army and fighting. Only historians can say whether it was the non-violent struggle or violence, or whether a combination of both factors that won independence for India'.

Through his 40-year struggle for the cause, Amirthalingam took part in a number of fasts and satyagrahas, He was the only major link between the early struggle of the Tamils and its current phase. Indeed, his career is entwined with the history of the Tamil struggle since Sri Lankan independence in 1948.

The All-Ceylon Tamil Congress split in 1948 over Colombo passing the Citizenship Act to make one million plantation Tamils stateless. The father-figure of the Tamils, S.J.V. Chelvanayagam, who was the vice-president of the Congress, differed from G.G. Ponnambalam and formed the 'Ilangai Tamil Arasu Katchi', the Federal Party, and 21-year-old Amirthalingam was one of its founders. Amirthalingam was elected to Parliament in 1956 and he continued to be an MP till 1970. He and TULF president M. Sivasithamparam, formed a superb duo of debaters in Parliament. He lost the elections that year.

In 1971, when the Left Front Government under Sirimavo Bandaranaike adopted a new Republican Constitution and the Tamil MPs' amendments relating to the Tamil language were rejected by the constituent Assembly (into which Parliament had constituted itself), the Tamil parties walked out. As Amirthalingam said in April 1986, 'It became clear that the new Republican Constitution will take away even the few safeguards against discriminate legislation that were enshrined in Article 29 of the Soulbury Constitution and would make the Sinhala language the only official language by a constitutional provision and also give foremost place to the Buddhist religion'.

Chelvanayagam convened a meeting of Tamil political parties, trade unions and youth organisations in Trincomalee on May 14, 1972 and the Tamil United Front (TUF) was born. The



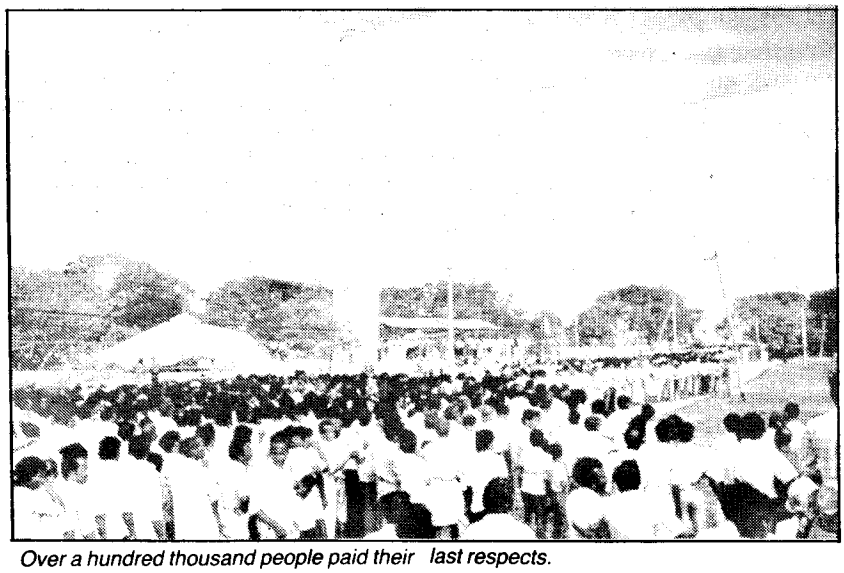
AMIRTHALINGAM

TUF urged the Tamil members to boycott the final meeting of the Constituent Assembly on May 22, 1972 convened to adopt the Constitution, and called for three days of mourning on May 22, 23, and 24 in the Tamil areas. On the final day, its members burnt copies of the constitution. Hundreds of youth were arrested and the agitation against the Constitution was on, with Amirthalingam in the forefront.

On October 2, 1972, Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, Chelvanayagam resigned from Parliament, challenging the government to field a candidate against him in an election to see whether the Tamils had accepted or rejected the Constitution. But the government put off the by-election for more than two years and when it was held in January 1975, he had a resounding victory from Kankesanturai. He termed the victory a mandate for the 'restoration' of the Tamil State, which was conquered by the Portuguese in 1670. The first convention of

● *It was an emotional and touching farewell the people of Jaffna peninsula paid to Amirthalingam and Yogeswaran. Their bodies were cremated with full state honours at the Jaffna Central College ground around 7pm on July 17. While the pyre of Amirthalingam was lit by his eldest son, Kandeepan, that of Yogeswaran was lit by his sister's husband, Dr Ramass. Earlier, their bodies were kept near the S.J.V. Chelvanayagam memorial stupa to enable the people to pay their homage.*

The peninsula observed a hartal. As is the custom, there were plantain trees tied to lamp-posts as a mark of grief. Thousands of mourners went past the bodies.



Over a hundred thousand people paid their last respects.

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the TUF on May 14, 1976 at Pannagam in Vaddukottai adopted the achievement of Tamil Eelam as its objective. And the TUF became the TULF. Chelvanayagam, Ponnambalam and S. Thondaman (the Ceylon Workers' Congress leader) were elected joint presidents. Sivasithamparam and Amirthalingam became joint secretaries.

When the resolution calling for achievement of Eelam was passed, Colombo responded by imposing emergency regulations. The Tamils defied the ban. Copies of the resolution were openly distributed on May 22, 1976, the Sri Lankan Republic day. Amirthalingam and three others were charged with sedition.

The trial was an opportunity to present the whole case for a separate State. As Amirthalingam recalled 'sixty-seven lawyers led by Chelva, Ponnambalam and M. Tiruchelvam appeared for me in that case. After 40 days of trial, the judges held that two issues were raised: the validity of the Constitution and the validity of the emergency. The judges held that since they were appointed under the Constitution, they were not competent to pronounce on its validity. They also held that since the emergency was not properly declared, the constitution of the trial bench was invalid. Amirthalingam was acquitted.

Later, the TULF received two severe setbacks when Chelvanayagam and Ponnambalam died. In the 1977 parliamentary elections, the TULF contested 24 seats and won overwhelmingly in 18 seats when it put forward a mandate for Eelam. It lost only one Tamil-majority seat by 500 votes and also five Muslim-majority seats. The United National Party led by J.R. Jayewardene rode to power and the TULF became the largest Opposition party. Amirthalingam became the Leader of the Opposition. In an unprecedented move, Parliament passed a no-confidence motion against him on July 24, 1981.

A weeping and wailing Mrs M. Amirthalingam

After the July 1983 massacre of Tamils on the island, Amirthalingam, Sivasithamparam, V. Yogeswaran and R. Sampanthan took up residence in Madras. Amirthalingam's room in the Government Guest House at Chepauk, Madras, became the beehive of Tamil activity. He was always accessible to fellow-Tamils and also reporters. Tamil refugees would endlessly call on him for help. He played a silent role in getting admission to Tamil refugee-students in schools, colleges and polytechnics in Tamil Nadu. After the July 1983 riots, he lobbied with the Tamil Nadu Government to give admission in medical colleges to MBBS students from Jaffna, who had to flee to Madras. Again, after the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement was signed on July 29, 1987, when the Government of India asked Tamil refugee students to get back to Sri Lanka midway through their studies, Amirthalingam took up the matter with New Delhi and the order was reversed.

As Dr. T.R. Janarthanam, president of the World Tamil Youth Federation, who had known Amirthalingam for 20 years recalled. 'He was never an opportunistic politicain. He would never hesitate to speak out his mind or call a spade a spade. When somebody came to him for help, he never gave them false promises'.

Amirthalingam could recite hundreds of songs of Subramania Bharathi and had deeply studied them. He once said his long periods of imprisonment in 1958, 1959, 1961 and 1976 gave him a lot of leisure and that was when he learnt Bharathi's songs.

He loved Tamil, and often regretted that students in Tamil Nadu did not speak chaste Tamil and wondered whether the teaching of the language in Tamil Nadu was up to the mark.

He was the key negotiator on the Tamil side, be it at the All-Party Conference through 1984, the Thimpu talks in 1985 or the TULF's talks with the Sri Lankan Government in July-August, 1986 or with Union Ministers P. Chidambaram and K. Natwar Singh. He hit it off very well with G. Parthasarathy, Indira Gandhi's special envoy to Colombo in 1983 and 1984. He had a very good working relationship with 'G.P.'.

Though Amirthalingam was committed to Eelam, he never made it a fetish or struck rigid, dogmatic stances. He was prepared to accept a rational alternative to Eelam within the framework of a united Sri Lanka In the TULF's negotiations with Colombo from 1983 to 1987, he concentrated on the unit and substance of devolution of power, be it the regional councils, district development councils or the provincial councils. His mastery of detail, especially when it came to areas such as finance, law and order and land and land settlement was stupendous. His knowledge of the Tamil struggle and his legal background stood him in good stead.

He continued to press both India and Sri Lanka for more devolution of powers to the North-Eastern Provincial council after the Agreement was signed.

He steered the TULF without identifying it with any particular militant group. As Janarthanam said, when

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A weeping Mrs S. Yogeswaran with Minister Gamini Dissanayake

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NEWS ROUND-UP

● **SRI LANKA'S** drug smugglers bring into the country an estimated 4 to 5 tons of prohibited drugs annually, according to the Narcotic Bureau. There are an estimated 26,000 drug addicts in the city of Colombo alone and 80 per cent of them are addicted to heroin while 10 per cent use pot and opium. The remainder use various other forms of drugs. An estimated one million are using drugs today.

Heroin, opium and ganja weighing over 20,000 kilos were confiscated by anti-narcotic personnel in 32,400 cases of arrests during the past one year. According to Narcotic Bureau sources, drug trafficking and smuggling are on the increase with local drug syndicates bringing in their 'goods of merchandise' through a Jewish connection via Amsterdam. One of the new methods used by local syndicates was to use attractive females as pushers in their illicit operations.

● **DURING 25 DAYS**, from 21 June to 15 July 1989, 472 persons were killed in various parts of the country, Mr. Vincent Perera, Minister of Justice and Parliamentary Affairs said on 20 July in Parliament moving the motion for the extension of the emergency.

During this period, 60 political killings and 412 homicides by 'southern subversives' had been reported; they had also stolen 273 firearms, including sophisticated automatic weapons and shotguns, from civilians and security forces. In the north and east, during the same period there have been 69 civilian murders and one police personnel, said the Minister.

● **A LANDMINE** explosion, allegedly caused by the JVP/DJV in Medirigiriya on 23 July killed an Assistant Superintendent of Police, P.K.N. Jayasinghe, his 13-year old son, Nuwan Jayasinghe and four police constables, Seneviratne, Herath, Priyantha Wijesinghe and Driver Adikari.

● **THE CENSORSHIP** of news imposed under emergency regulations on July 5 was lifted on 24 July. In announcing the lifting of censorship, Minister of Foreign Affairs and State Minister for Defence, Ranjan Wijeratne suggested that newspapers should not seek to 'glorify' 'subversive activity' and should exercise self-censorship on matters concerning such activity.

● **RESIDENTS** in Batticaloa, Vavuniya and Mannar responded to a call by Tamil militant groups, EPRLF, ENDLF and TELO to commemorate the sixth anniversary of the massacre of 53 Tamil political prisoners in the Colombo Welikade jail on July 25 and 27, 1983 by observing a 'hartal' on July 25. All government and corporation offices, banks and shops remained closed throughout the day. Transport services came to a halt. The towns were deserted as the residents confined themselves to their homes.

● **AN ESTATE** Superintendent identified as Priya Ratwatte, Minister of Tourism A.S.M. Adikri's brother-in-law and two officers of the security services were among over 20 persons killed during 48 hours ending noon on 25 July. Nine persons were killed in separate incidents in the Kandy area. In the Kandy town a powerful bomb exploded killing a woman and wounding 8 others. Around 80 'suspected subversives' were rounded up by security forces in the district. At Wahalkada in Polghawela a former principal and Justice of the Peace identified as W.M. Jinendrasinghe and his son were shot dead. Rs.1.5 million was stolen from the Bank of Oman at Parsons Road, Colombo; two youths had held up the vehicle transferring money from the Central Bank before getting away with the loot; this was the first time a foreign bank had been robbed.

● **NINE PERSONS** including two women were abducted by unidentified gangs in separate incidents in Deraniyagala and Panadura on 25 July. The abducted persons have been identified as students. It is believed that the gangs involved in these abductions might be anti-JVP elements or connected with security forces.

● **A TAMIL YOUTH** has been taken into custody by the Sri Lankan police in connection with the assassination of Uma Maheswaran, the founder leader of the Tamil militant group, Peoples Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE). The arrested person is reported to be a former member of this group.

● **EMPLOYEES** at the state hospitals in Badulla and Ratnapura struck work on 25 July in protest over the shooting of a doctor and the abduction of three student nurses in separate incidents on the night of 24 July. Doctor Guruge Wimalasiri attached to the Badulla Hospital was shot at and injured by a police patrol as he was driving home after a late night operation. The police claimed that the shooting was an accident.

● **THE INTER-UNIVERSITY** Student Federation has urged the University Grants Commission not to conduct any examinations until all university students taken into custody have been released. The Universities remain closed indefinitely.

● **ALL ACTIVITIES** of government departments, mercantile establishments, state corporations, commercial and state sector banks were paralysed on 28 July as the JVP called for a five-day closure of factories and business establishments in its continuing anti-government campaign and protest against the presence of the IPKF. Following threatening posters and other forms of announcements, thousands of employees kept away from work. Although the health services and transport remained unaffected, even those who turned up for work without knowing about the 'stoppage' call, walked out of the workplaces after marking their attendance. The Colombo port too remained paralysed.

Employees of the Welikade and Mahara prisons did not report for work. Employees of the Galle prison, main post office and sub-post offices, co-operative outlets and courts in the Galle area did not function.

Two bombs exploded outside the State Bank of India building in the heart of the capital in the Fort, but no one was injured. A third unexploded bomb was removed by the army disposal unit. A bomb was also thrown at the Indian Overseas Bank building at Main Street, Pettah. An Indian joint venture, Hume Pipe Company at Bokundera in Piliyandala was set on fire.

● **A BUDDHIST MONK** Ven. Padagahagoda Saranankaara Thero of the Korossa temple in Kurunegala was among fifteen persons killed on 26 July. Of the fifteen 5 were police and service personnel killed in clashes with the JVP/DJV. Among those killed was one of the bodyguards of a senior SLFP politician at Bingiriya. Three soldiers and a civilian were killed in a pitched gunbattle at Queens Estate in the Uva Province. At Alawwa and Veyangoda two police constables were shot dead in separate incidents. At Kadungannawa, two dead bodies were recovered. At Warakapola and Ruwanwella five bodies with burn injuries were recovered. At Mampe, a person alleged to be a 'subversive' was shot dead. Scores of alleged 'subversives' were rounded up by security forces.

● **MR. BRADMAN WEERAKOON,** a senior retired civil servant who had served several Sri Lankan heads of state, has been appointed Advisor to the President on International Relations, and his duties will include participating in special missions to foreign governments for the purpose of explaining and clarifying Sri Lanka's position on international affairs. He will also assist in the restructuring of all Sri Lankan Missions overseas making them the focal point of the countries activities abroad.

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● **HUNDREDS OF YOUTH** suspected of 'subversive' activity were rounded up by the security forces during 30 July to 1 August during combing-out operations all over the country. Most of the arrested were from Matara, Galle, Hambantota, Kurunegala, Matale, Kandy and Colombo areas. A vehicle in which ASP Paul Gurusinghe, the personal assistant to DIG southern range, was travelling was fired at at Baddegama on 30 July and the police driver identified as Wimaladasa was killed in the incident. On the same day in a separate incident, a former police constable, M. Mahindapala (40) was shot dead at Gonapiuwala in Hikkaduwa for selling goods from a boutique in breach of the 'curfew' imposed by the DJV. At Rassagala in Balangoda, an Army Corporal was killed in a landmine attack on 30 July.

● **A SENIOR OFFICIAL** of the Irrigation Department, identified as A. Ganeshapillai was beaten to death at Malwatte in the Sammanthurai area in the eastern province on 2 August by men allegedly belonging to a Tamil militant group. He was abducted by the men while he was travelling in a bus.

● **SHORTLY AFTER** a member of the ENDLF was gunned down by unidentified persons at Addalaichenai in the Akkaraipathu area, several members belonging to this group are reported to have gone berserk and shot indiscriminately and raiding and attacking houses in the Akkaraipathu town on 1 August in the course of which three persons were killed including the SLMC Provincial Council Member M.I. Ali Uthuman. As tension mounted following these incidents, the IPKF moved in, sealed the ENDLF office located along Pottuvil Road and seized all weapons in the possession of ENDLF cadres. A 72 hour hartal was announced and observed at Akkaraipathu in protest against what was described as indiscriminate shooting. All shops and business establishments remained closed and transport services were disrupted.

● **ALL ACTIVITIES,** including public and private transport, banking and commercial activity etc came to a grinding halt in almost the whole of Sri Lanka, except the northern and eastern provinces, on 4 August as the JVP enforced one of their now familiar 'curfews'. Most of the highways in the city and suburbs were virtually empty as most people remained indoors following threats. Heavily armed security forces and police personnel patrolled the streets and took up positions at several points. Attendance at government and private sector offices were minimal as most of the employees kept away from their work places.

● **ACCORDING** to a government communique issued on 5 August, 'subversives' exploded a bomb in front of the Fort Hotel injuring four passers-by; security forces in combing out operations in the Colombo district took into custody over 100 suspected 'subversives', and also were reported to have captured revolvers, swords, grenades etc from their hideouts.

● **FOUR POLICE** constables were killed and seven injured in a landmine explosion in Embilipitiya on 6 August. Five unidentified dead bodies were recovered on the same day at Talatuoya. In Prappe in the Rambukkana area police rounded up several suspects and recovered a large quantity of police uniforms, peak caps, cap medals, boots, shorts, overcoats, gloves, empty cartridges and ammunition. At Gonapinuwela in the Galle area security forces arrested three alleged 'subversive suspects' and recovered explosives, detonators, army uniforms and boots. At Moneragala, the DJV claimed responsibility for killing A.S. Sivalingam, leaving a note stating that he had not supported their 'cause'. During cordon and search operations at Wewagama in the Anuradhapura district two hundred and fiftysix 'suspected subversives' were taken into custody for 'questioning'. At Polonnaruwa, during search operations 21 'suspected subversives' were arrested with 15,000 posters, petrol bombs and stolen national identity cards.

● **MORE THAN 5000** medical operations per month which should normally have been carried out in government hospitals are being postponed due to lack of anaesthetists and surgeons. In some hospitals there are no anaethetists posted. In certain hospitals only emergency and casualty operations are being carried out.

● **ALL RECRUITMENT** to government services this year is to be stopped due to the severe financial crisis presently affecting Sri Lanka. However it has been decided that this general embargo on recruitment will not apply to essential services to which special financial provision will be made available under stringent conditions.

● **THE PRICES** of all brews produced by the State Distilleries Corporation have been increased by prices ranging from Rs.3 to Rs.15 with immediate effect. According to the new price list, a bottle of Extra Special Arrack has been raised from Rs.69 to Rs.73, Special Arrack from Rs.66 to Rs.69, Coconut Arrack from Rs.78 to Rs.88 and VSOA from Rs.104 Rs.116.

● **THE SRI LANKA** Muslim Congress has hit back at its one time General Secretary, M.S. Osman who claimed on July 23 that the SLMC had accepted money from India through the Indian High Commission in Colombo. In a statement issued by the present General Secretary, the SLMC characterised Mr. Osman's allegations as 'figments of his imagination and therefore do not deserve or merit serious attention'.

● **THE PANADURA** and Wadduwa police have solved a major problem faced by the residents of the area by arresting the leader of a gang which had terrorised the area for months. The arrested man is said to be a Sub-Inspector in the Police Reserve who is under interdiction. He was arrested when he turned up at a house at Talpitiya, Wadduwa to collect a ransom of Rs.50,000 from the Principal of Balaka Maha Vidyalaya, Panadura. The arrested Sub-Inspector admitted that he had been involved in 'subversive' activity and in the commission of eighty robberies. Following his arrest, a number of his collaborators also were taken into custody among whom were four former constables in the Police Reserve.

● **IN AN ISLAND-WIDE** search operation during the weekend of 5-6 August, the security forces took into custody over 750 persons. 59 of the suspects were being interrogated for alleged 'subversive' activity.

In Colombo suspected 'subversives' had placed improvised explosive devices in over 20 places. An unidentified gang had set fire to the hosue of a reserve constable at Watanne in Baduraliya; the father of the constable had been killed and the mother brutally assaulted. At Ruwanwella and Mawanella areas, security forces recovered shot guns, cartridges, parcels of gunpowder, police and army uniforms etc. and took into custody four persons in the course of raiding several 'subversive hideouts'. At Puttalam a Buddhist monk, Ven. Pokunu Bandana Hemaloka Thera of Nandi Mitta Raja Maha Viharaya was killed allegedly by 'subversives'. At Wariyapola an elderly woman was taken away from her residence and hacked to death. At Kuliyapitiya, over 300 'suspected subversives' were taken into custody for questioning. A person identified as P.V. Jinadasa was killed allegedly by 'subversives' at Elpitiya; a placard found near the bullet-riddled body accused him of being a police informant. At Poramba in Akkuressa a man named R.A. Nimalasiri was gunned down by a group in army-type uniform.

● **THE SRI LANKA** delegation led by Foreign Minister, Ranjan Wijeratne, which went to New Delhi for talks with Indian leaders on the withdrawal of the IPKF returned to Colombo on 5 August after seven days of discussions.

● **SECURITY FORCES** recovered two unidentified dead bodies with gunshot injuries at Panamra junction in Ratnapura on 9 August. Two posters near the dead bodies stated 'punishment for supporting the subversives, pasting JVP posters and killing persons'.

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FOREIGN RESERVES HAVE DISAPPEARED

By David Housego
in Colombo

In chemists' shops in central Colombo, shopkeepers have put up signs announcing that they do not sell Indian-made products.

The signs were put up after the extremist Sinhalese movement, the JVP, threatened shopkeepers with retaliation if they sold Indian-made goods. Low-priced drugs have been a big Indian export to Sri Lanka.

But if the JVP ban has been hard on the poor, it is probably their only action which has had a beneficial (albeit unintentional and short-term) impact on the balance of payments, through reducing imports.

Otherwise the stoppages and strikes that the JVP have inspired in recent weeks, particularly the transport strike and the stoppages at the port, have eaten into output and exports. With the trade and current account deficit continuing to widen, the foreign exchange reserves have virtually disappeared.

A sign of Sri Lanka's plight is that the government is having to finance imports of wheat, sugar, rice and fuel on 180-day letters of credit. Suppliers are demanding that off-shore foreign banks independently confirm that payment will be made. Importers of non-essential goods are being asked to put up a 100 per cent cash margin.

As business circles see it, the balance of payments squeeze is putting an irresistible pressure on the government to come to terms with the International Monetary Fund. One IMF mission left 10 days ago without an agreement, and another arrives in 10 days.

The IMF is withholding a $87m drawing on a structural adjustment facility until Sri Lanka enters new commitments. Payment on this would unlock $60m more in balance-of-payments support from the World Bank and new aid from western donor nations.

Some hard decisions have already been taken. The President's Janasaviya programme, involving a Rs.2,500-a-month (£44) payment for the poorest families, has been shelved for this year, along with another welfare programme for mid-day meals; the two would have cost Rs.4bn for 1989.

But the most difficult decisions remain. The removal of subsidies on wheat and flour could push up the cost of a loaf of bread by over 40 per cent to about Rs.5. Mr. Premadasa evidently feels that this could cause food riots and play into the hands of the JVP.

Overall, the IMF wants to contain the budget deficit to 12 per cent of GDP, as againt the 15 per cent in the government estimates. This marks a softening on its original goal of 10 per cent of GDP.

Parallel with this the Fund is seeking a slight slowing of monetary expansion (M1) to 18 per cent this year – which allows for an optimistic 2-3 per cent real growth in GNP and 15 per cent inflation. Interest rates have been rising, with one year Treasury bills now at 19 per cent, reflecting the tightening of monetary policy.

The influence of Fund thinking is already being reflected in the accelerated depreciation of the rupee over the last two weeks.

Failure to reach an agreement with the Fund would make it almost impossible for Sri Lanka to obtain the commercial credits needed to finance its import bill and current account deficit. Because the consequences in terms of shortages and higher inflation would be so painful, businessmen believe the president will submit to the inevitable.

(F.T., 10.8.89).

Continued from Page 9

by now satisfied its curiosity about this man Ranjan Wijeratne, an unknown political quantity until six months ago, but had meanwhile earned the reputation of being able to – in the analogy of a Tamil proverb – jump ten feet, if the 'king' jumped five! While New Delhi reports convey the usual diplomatic blah-blah about warmth and cordiality and free and frank talks, not much of a headway appears to have been made after three days of talks on the hard issues. It is easy to predict one aspect of the strategy that New Delhi policy makers must be working hard on, and that would be to wean the Sri Lanka government away from its new-found allies, the LTTE. But it would be naive to expect the Premadasa government to throw away the one strong card they have in their favour. The inspired reports about heavy losses by the LTTE and their serious setbacks, released by the IPKF and publicised by THE HINDU during the time the talks were going on in New Delhi are probably intended to show the Sri Lanka government that the LTTE is a doomed ally, as far as future calculations go. But a distressing miscalculation in Indian policy in arming the EPRLF-ENDLF-TELO combination against the LTTE is that the Premadasa government is in a position to play the same game. Already, allegations are being made that the EROS group, strong on theory and tactics but short in arms, is being backed by the Premadasa government, after its entry into Parliament under the name Eelavar Democratic Front. Although the LTTE and EROS have no ideological commonality, the EROS leadership has always shown a pragmatic awareness that it would be foolish, or at least premature, to be seen as working at cross-purposes with the LTTE. In short, the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement for Peace which set out two years ago on the noble mission of 'disarming' has now turned out to be the instrument for more ARMING! Who has to pay the price? The Tamils certainly.

I wonder whether New Delhi realises that the Premadasa government still holds a trump card in its favour. It is the Referendum in the East for the merger or demerger of the north and east, which has been twice put off, first by President Jayewardene and now by Mr. Premadasa – for the 29th January 1990. India cannot contest the holding of a referendum, because it is provided for in the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. The merger of the north and east is one issue in which there was Tamil consensus, and on which even the 'moderate' TULF took a strong stand. Today, Indian policy has only succeeded in dividing the east from the north. If President Premadasa decides to hold the referendum on January 29 next year and campaign for a demerger, he will have the entire support of the Sinhala population in the east as well as outside, as well as the JVP and ex-President Jayewardene who has gone on record that he would publicly campaign for a demerger. While the Muslim voting will have a decisive influence, it is doubtful whether all Tamils in the East would back a merger, given the suspicion that they would come under a LTTE-dominated Jaffna. If the result of the referendum turns the wrong way and the East rejects a merger, Indian policy would have done the greatest damage to Tamil aspirations; apart from losing its own protege administration which could function with Indian help only in the East. It might sound ridiculous, but one basic difference between President Jayewardene and President Premadasa is that, if pushed too far, President Jayewardene was prepared to write off Jaffna to India, while President Premadasa under similar circumstances may well write off Jaffna to the Tigers – under a mutual agreement of unwritten autonomy!

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READERS FORUM

A MAN WITHOUT BLOOD ON HIS HANDS

Let us pause for a moment at another death, the death of AMIRTHALINGAM. I write this as no longer a partisan of the savage Tamil struggle : it has become a communal gang-warfare, and I am not a gangster. Nor was Amirthalingam; which is one of the reasons he has died at the hands of the gangsters. Rather, he was an old-time Tamil politician, whom I am glad to have known; a broker, an intermediary, a wily negotiator, but was also a civil and thoughtful representative of his people until his star waned, and the gangsters took over.

The ravaged scene in Sri Lanka is the poorer for his passing; there still should have been a need for his kind of virtues, if Sri Lanka had been a 'normal' country with a 'normal' government. But it is not normal. It is a government of Sinhalese thieves, thugs and playboys; it rests on a policy – for which it has reaped a political whirlwind – of anti-Tamil racism; to help solve its self-created problems it invited in an Indian occupation force which has protected one set of Tamil gangsters and attacked another while looting and murdering innocent Tamil civilians; it has compromised Sri Lanka's national sovereignty, and is being beset and attacked for it by its own lumpen communal hoodlums.

One of the marks of rationality and wisdom is to recognise that sometimes – although fortunately not very often – there are no solutions to certain problems. The Sri Lankan case is one such. There is no solution to the inherent Sinhalese hatred of, and discrimination against, the Tamils; no solution to the world-wide lumpenisation of youth, including Sinhalese and Tamil youth, which finds in murder and terror 'answers' to its grievances, and calls these answers 'liberation' on the one hand, or restoration of national 'dignity' on the other; and no solution to the geo-political facts which provide the basis of India's domination of the region.

All that is left is for civil libertarians to remind Sinhalese and Tamils of what would be civilised conduct, if they were capable of it; for men and women of goodwill – above all, nurses and doctors and priests – to bind the wounds and bury the bodies of those who insist on committing suicide and murder; and for us to remember one man at least who had no blood on his hands, in a sea of killing.

Dr. David Selbourne

Oxford
14.7.89

BACK TO SQUARE ONE, IF IPKF WITHDRAWS

Had the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) not gone into Sri Lanka, many thousands of Tamil youths held in detention camps such as 'Boosa' in the Sinhalese areas would have been dead by now. Neither the LTTE nor the EPRLF would have been able to rescue anyone from 'Boosa', it was India's intervention that saved their lives.

The Eastern Province was full of refugee camps. Without IPKF these camps (and many more) would still be there.

The Indian Government is now taking a firmer line in Sri Lanka. Had such a positive approach been taken much earlier, it would have saved more lives.

There is no way in which, 4,000 LTTE men could have set up an independent EELAM against 30,000 Sri Lankan troops. Between July, 1983, when IPKF went in, some 25,000 Tamil civilians perished in an unwinnable war. Indian backing would be needed all the way to achieve and retain EELAM against a much larger Sinhala nation. Any international recognition of EELAM would be possible only if India consents, not otherwise.

IPKF has a good working relationship with the Tamils in the Eastern Province where they are most needed. Only Indian presence can safeguard this area from the Sinhalese and from any other foreign powers.

Tamils of Indian origin live in the Central Province in the tea estates. Recent events have shown the vulnerability of anyone of Indian origin living in Sri Lanka. Only the Indian army can safeguard these people and do away with the great injustice suffered by them since the British left the island in 1948.

India has lost over 1,000 men and spent vast sums of money in Sri Lanka. Any pull out now would mean back to square one and this would be unacceptable.

Anyone who knows Sinhalese culture, history and way of thinking would know that, left to themselves, the Sinhalese would probably destroy themselves and this would affect Sri Lanka's neighbours, including India.

Therefore, India's intervention in Sri Lanka was good for all concerned.

P. Varothaya Singham

Sutton
Surrey.

THE LANGUAGE OF 'OUR BOYS'

'Our Tamil boys, right or wrong' has been the general reaction of many Tamils. How wrong and shortsighted this attitude is has been demonstrated without a shadow of doubt by the cruel murder of A. Amirthalingam and V. Jogeswaran. Not that there was any doubt before judging from the many previous senseless killings – Alalasundaram, Dharmalingam (two TULF former MPs), human rights and humanitarian workers Kathiramalai and Kanthasamy, Government Agent Panchalingam and other civil servants, Rev. Chandra Fernando and a countless number of Tamils in an orgy of inter-group violence.

When many Tamils have remained silent out of fear or partisanship, you deserve praise for your forthright editorial (July 1989), the contents of which truly reflect the real position in the most telling manner. You are fortunate in that you are far away in London able to write or say what you think is right, but we do not have that freedom – not because of government censorship, but we fear our very lives will be "censored' if we dare to utter even a word of dissent.

By the latest killing, the voice of able, experienced and committed Tamil leaders have been stilled by men who have forgotten to speak the Tamil language but speak the only language they seem to know, the gun. They talk of 'liberation', but they have become accomplished experts in taking liberty with other people's lives. How on earth can we complain of others – Sri Lanka security forces or the IPKF – persecuting or killing Tamils, when, as you rightly point out in your editorial, so many Tamils are dying at the hands of 'Our Boys'?

N.N. Ananthan

Colombo 6,
Sri Lanka.

ISN'T IT STRANGE?

Isn't it strange the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), a group of the Sri Lankan Tamils, is able to have discussions and reach an understanding with its sworn enemy, the Sri Lankan Government, but is not able to and is not prepared to have discussions and reach an understanding with the other Tamil Groups who have in no small measure also made sacrifices in their fight against the Sri Lankan Armed Forces prior to the Indo-Sri Lanka accord of July 1987?

Isn't it clear even to an average thinking person that what the LTTE is after is supremacy and monopoly of power and dominance over the Tamils, unmindful of the interests of the Tamils at large?

Isn't it obvious that LTTE which according to recent reports has agreed

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for the cessation of hostilities with the Sri Lankan Government is unable to agree the same with the Indian Government (the very party without whose support the Sri Lankan Tamils Government's rightful insistence that LTTE accommodate the other Tamil Groups in power sharing and give up arms so that members of the other Tamil Groups and civilians who do not fall in line are not killed by the LTTE.

Isn't it strange that LTTE was able to agree for the cessation of hostilities even before a finalisation of what a Sri Lankian Government would give in return – which certainly should be much more than provided under the Indo-Sri Lanka accord to justify the stance hitherto taken by LTTE that resulted in the destruction of many lives and properties let alone economic and social degeneration?

Sir, this is indeed a strange world with strange bed fellows who profess to fight for the rights of the people but who all along only seek domination at the altar of the lives and misery of the people. And, it is really saddening that the people not realising it, give implicit acceptance to the ploys of the terrorists because the people view their problems with their heads and not brains thus effectively paving the way for their own misery and downfall.

A. KUMARAN

24 Buckleigh Road
London SW16

WHEN MADRAS SLEPT IN PEACE

I feel extremely sad and angry at the letter from Mr S. Manoharan from South India (June issue), who by saying IPKF action in Sri Lanka was IPKF-LTTE confrontation, has dismissed IPKF barbarism against Tamil civilians who had nothing whatsoever to do with LTTE.

a) Mr Manoharan, do you know in Jaffna IPKF murdered nearly two thousand Tamil civilians (including babies and crippled grandmothers) in just five weeks; a chilling statistic which makes the Sri Lankan Army look like angels.

b) Do you know IPKF men raped nearly two hundred and fifty Tamil women in the same period; a crime not heard in Jaffna until the IPKF rapists arrived.

c) Do you know of the massacre at our Jaffna Hospital, when IPKF shot Tamil doctors, nurses and patients inside the hospital wards; and burnt their bodies in a big bonfire. Do you know in the human history, since the Second World War, only two armies have committed mass murders in hospitals; one was Pol Pot's men in Cambodia and the other IPKF in Jaffna.

The only force in this world that could have saved the Tamil civilians in Jaffna from murderous IPKF was the fifty million strong South Indian Tamils. Had they taken to the streets in Madras in millions with emotion and determination, New Delhi would have feared and stopped the ghastly crime in Jaffna at once.

Alas, when IPKF were callously killing the Tamil civilians at random for five weeks (a period in which Indians outlawed each and every Tamil in our own homeland for two thousand years) Madras slept peacefully.

Jeyanthi Selvaratnam
Research Physicist
London

The July 89 and April 89 issues of the 'Tamil Times' carried letters expressing opinions on the Indian intervention and the subsequent Indo-LTTE war.

Mr Manoharan writing from Madras (in the June issue) expressed his belief that while the IPKF's confrontation with the LTTE was 'regrettable', it was all brought about by the LTTE's desire to eliminate all other groups and 'set up a dictatorship over the Tamil people'.

As for India's intervention he believes that this stemmed from '. . . .the bounden duty of the Indian Government to act to protect the country's legitimate interests, security, independence and territorial integrity'. (Which was under threat by the US-Pakistan-Sri Lanka alliance).

Mt Ganesheratnam, an Australian resident writing in the Tamil Times of April 89 blames the Indo-LTTE war on the Tamil attitude which he describes as being '. . . .ungrateful, provocative, uncompromising and uncomplimentary.

Interestingly, both views imply the IPKF-LTTE confrontation to be one brought about by IPKF's knee-jerk reaction to LTTE's 'Intransigence/ Provocation'.

It is the writer's view, however, that this is a simplistic explanation which neither fits in with the intensity of the IPKF assault nor the action of the RAW and other Indian Agencies over a long period of time.

Indian assault on the Tigers was/is not a reaction to intransigence or provocation, but, an intentional move designed to implement Mr Gandhi's policy in regard to Sri Lanka which was perceived to be moving into the US-Pakistan axis and the LTTE which was proving to be truly committed to seeking a degree of autonomy for the Tamil Homeland (Eelam) far greater than what was being enjoyed by the States within the Indian Union.

The Gandhi administration appeared to have believed that the emergence of a Tamil State in Sri Lanka, enjoying a greater degree of autonomy than any of the Indian States would prove detrimental to its own unity and hence the decision to liquidate/weaken the Tigers.

At the same time the Indian central Government was aware that an understanding with the Tigers (who had emerged to be the dominant military force in Sri Lanka) was essential to legitimize Indian intervention on 'humanitarian' grounds.

This understanding was obtained through a mixture of 'carrots and sticks' whereby the LTTE was promised 'pride of place' in the interim government while measures were taken to indicate to the LTTE its dependence on the Indian Government. (For example. In November 1986, all communication equipment of the LTTE was confiscated by the Government and Mr Prabakaran placed under house arrest and in May 87 when 'Operation Liberation' was underway the Indian Government was withholding arms and ammunition to the LTTE to indicate India's hold on the direction of the war).

The actions of the IPKF shortly after their arrival in Sri Lanka were quite clearly designed to draw the LTTE into a confrontation with a view to weaken it militarily. This is borne out by the obviously provocative actions of the IPKF which included the creation of the 'Tri Star' group, the deliberate delay in the setting up of the Interim Administration and the arbitrary arrests leading to the suicide of 17 senior members of the LTTE.

From Mr Gandhi's point of view the exercise had proved disastrous only because of the underestimation of the LTTE's willingness and ability to stand up to the IPKF.

It is the writer's assertion, that, had the LTTE been defeated militarily, Mr Gandhi would have succeeded in signalling to Colombo, India's total control over the Tamil militants and its willingness to use the militants to realise its own objectives. These objectives being primarily to ensure Sri Lanka's total subservience to India in regard to foreign policy.

Indian propaganda would have in the meantime ensured that the meagre provisions of the Provisional Council is drummed up to be 'a great victory' for Indian diplomacy, satisfying Tamil Nadu's concerns and boosting Mr Gandhi's political career.

As far as Eelam (Sri Lankan) Tamils were concerned, the 'peace' would have been a hollow one indeed having gained a provincial government with little or no power at the cost of being forced to abandon the means to continue with the armed struggle.

As for the Sri Lankan Government, the price of compromising on its sovereignty would have meant an end to 'Tamil Terrorism', and the freeing up of its considerable military machinery to combat the 'Southern Subversives'.

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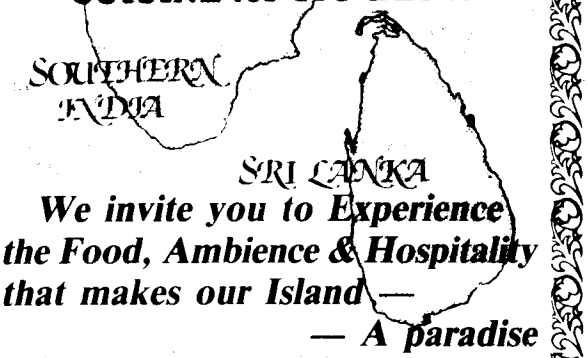

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1. **Introduction to Tamil Culture**
   Second Edition, January 1984 (Price:£10)
2. **A Date With Destiny.**
   on Saiva Siddhanta Philosphy, 1980 (Price:£10)
3. **Introduction to Saivite Hinduism**
   A Primer for beginners, 1982 (Price:£5)
4. **Meaning of Life**
   in Saivite Hinduism, October 1985 (Price:£10)
5. **Thiruk-Kural**
   Selected Translations. 1976 (Price:£5)
6. **What is Saiva Siddhanta?**
   1986. (Price:£5)
7. **Periya Purana Pushpaanjali**
   1988 (Price:£10)
8. **Sarvam Sivamayam**
   an Outline of Saivism 1989 (Price:£5)

Books in Tamil

9. **Anchaa Nencham**
   On Literature. 1980 (Price:£10)
10. **Thamilaa Vilithelu**
    Essays, 1981 (Price: £10)
11. **Viduthalaiyum Veetuperum**
    on Thiruvacagam. 1984 (Price: £10)

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INDIAN ARMY CRIMES

In July 1987, when the Indian army arrived in Jaffna, calling itself 'The Peace Keeping Force', the entire Tamil populace welcomed them with great joy. But within three months of their arrival, in the name of enforcing peace, they murdered hundreds of innocent Tamil men, women and children in cold blood and left their bodies to decompose for days with contempt. Grief-stricken people who went to inquire about their murdered family members, conscientious citizens who tried to cremate the dead and attend to the injured were themselves butchered by the Indians. The savagery of the Indians was beyond words. The Tamil soul never experienced such heartless brutality even during the peak of the Vadamarachi operation by the Sri Lankan army. Forty years after the Nuremberg trials and subsequent hanging of the war criminals, its deterrent value has been made a mockery by the Indians.

We are a group of non-political Tamils compiling a report of Indian army crimes from October 1987 till now. We would like to hear from the next of kin of all those who perished at the hands of the Indians.

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EDF IN PARLIAMENT

By Rita Sebastian

On July 21st twelve of the thirteen members of the Eelavar Democratic Front EDF (the former EROS) elected to Parliament in the February polls took their seats in parliament.

For four months they had boycotted its sittings. At a press conference before the parliamentary sessions in March, they expressed what they described as two main concerns that were holding them back. The release of Tamil political prisoners was a priority issue which they took up with President Ranasinghe Premadasa and had resolved. The other concern, the repeal of the sixth amendment which requires the swearing of allegiance to the unitary concept of the constitution they have now decided to resolve, by being a part of the parliamentary process themselves and working towards a consensus of all political parties, irrespective of party lines.

When the twelve members of the EDF took their seats they became the largest Tamil group in Parliament.

The change from the Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students to the Eelavar Democratic Front has been long, and hard for some of its cadres, trained in the Palestinian camps in Beirut in acts of sabotage and subversion. From an armed military struggle they have now committed themselves to the established parliamentary structure to fight for their rights.

Eliyathamby Ratnasabapathy, Member of Parliament for Jaffna, often described as the 'founding father' of EROS, the ex-journalist who calls himself an economic researcher traces the early beginnings of EROS to having its roots in the country's rural economy. 'Our main thrust was the economic well-being of the Tamil speaking people' . . . But came 1980 and the fourth Tamil International Conference in Jaffna that took nine lives. What happened then is now history but it was the turning point for EROS. 'We became a political movement with a well established structure' recalls Ratnasabapathy.

Today as the EDF looks forward to articulating the grievances of the Tamil speaking people in the country's supreme legislature Ratnasabapathy says 'individuals create institutions, institutions throw up the leadership and the EDF has thrown up its own leaders that will emancipate the Tamil speaking people'.

Here Ratnasabapathy answers a number of wide ranging questions.

Q. – Have you dropped the demand for Eelam?

A. – We have never demanded Eelam. There is a difference between separate state and statehood. What we have been asking for is a statehood within the framework of a united Sri Lanka. Statehood means a politically demarcated area within which Tamil people can manage their affairs, but within the governance of the island's government. Take the United Kingdom – Scotland, England and Wales – within a United Kingdom is one country in three nations. It's such a political framework that the United National Party should evolve.

Q. – Do you think the Tamil groups can come together to solve the Tamil question?

A. – We still have hope for Tamil unity, only unity can bring lasting peace for the Tamils. India should have used her good offices to forge such a unity specially after the Thimpu conference. President Premadasa is now making the effort to bring the groups together but he must not make the same mistake of the Indian government which was talking to the groups separately. There should be a common programme which will have the participation of all the groups. We have always stood for tripartite talks, the governments of Sri Lanka, India and the groups. After all India is a party to the accord, and such talks would have helped in effecting the withdrawal of the Indian troops.

Q. – You had talks with Ceylon Workers Congress President S. Thondaman who is also a member of the Premadasa cabinet. Was there anything specific you discussed?

A. – No. It was merely to establish friendly relations. We are not against the CWC as a Trade Union, that is why we didn't organise a trade union in the plantation sector. But we are deeply concerned about the plantation workers and that is why we nominated a person from the plantations to parliament under our banner. This is the first time in the parliamentary history of this country that a political group is representing the north, east and the plantation sector in Parliament. The plantation workers have always had separate representation.

Q. – What are your relations with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)?

A. – We have had fraternal relations with the LTTE but such relations have not helped to work out a concrete and meaningful solution to the Tamil problem.

Q. – What in your opinion is preventing Tamil unity?

A. – There is a vacuum in the leadership. The Tamils at this stage need a leadership that reflects the interests of the Tamil speaking people at large.

Q. – How would you describe the politics of your party?

A. – People call us Marxists. I would describe us as dialectical social democrats.

Q. – Why didn't your party participate in the provincial council elections?

A. – We made it quite clear that any political solution of the Tamil question must include the problems of the plantation workers as well.

Q. – Will EROS take up arms again?

A. – We hope the Sri Lankan government and other parties like India will not force us to a situation where we will be compelled to take up arms again. Today we carry arms for our protection because of the prevailing security situation in the country.

Continued from Page 11

Prabakaran approached Amirthalingam when the LTTE was a fledgling and requested that the TULF support it, he declined to do so. All groups were close to him and their members would often visit him in Madras. But LTTE members seldom did so. Before the Thimpu talks, the LTTE had called him a 'traitor' and there were reports much earlier that it had passed a death sentence on him.

The relationship between the LTTE and the TULF became obviously strained after the confrontation between the LTTE and the Indian Peace-Keeping Force began on October 10, 1987. (Earlier, in September 1987, the LTTE had agreed to give three seats out of 12 to the TULF in the interim administrative council) in the last few weeks, with the TULF taking a stand that the IPKF should continue on the island and the LTTE demanding that it should pull out, there was obviously no meeting point between the LTTE and the TULF.

(Frontline, July 22-August 4, 1989).

Continued from Page 17

It is vital that all Tamils regardless of their political differences consider this before accusing each other or the LTTE of intransigence/provocation.

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LANKA SOLIDARITY IN JAPAN
– Tribute to Kanthasamy –

In Tokyo, a group of about 20 individuals, including Sri Lankans and representatives of the National Christian Council of Japan (NCC-J), the Center for Christian Response to Asian Issues (CCRAI), HELP Asia Women's Shelter, Pacific-Asia Resource Center (PARC), the Maryknoll Sisters and the Peace-Makers, gathered to remember Mr. Kanthasamy and express solidarity with and concern for the people of Sri Lanka.

On the 19th of June, 1988, Mr. Kanthasamy was kidnapped, allegedly by an armed Tamil group, in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. Since he disappeared, his whereabouts or what happened to him have yet to be discerned. It is believed that he is dead.

In order to pay tribute to Mr. Kanthasamy and to strengthen solidarity efforts on behalf of Sri Lanka, human rights groups in Sri Lanka and in various parts of the world gathered in the week of June 19 – 26, 1989, exactly one year since his disappearance.

The fact that a militant Tamil group is believed responsible for Mr. Kanthasamy's disappearance highlights the difficulty of the current crisis, which has now pitted Tamils against Tamils and Sinhalese against Sinhalese.

Sri Lanka, once a peaceful and prosperous country, has been transformed in the latter half of the 20th century into one of the world's most violent and unstable regions. The conflict between the Tamils and the Sinhalese has wrought tremendous suffering upon all the people of this land torn with unending violence, in the form of random arrests, torture, killings, political repression and economic instablity.

The intervention of the Indian Peace Keeping Forces in 1987 has further complicated the situation and turned it into an issue of international concern and responsibility.

In the midst of this situation, various groups and individuals have struggled to give support and hope to the suffering people of Sri Lanka, risking their lives in order to do so. Mr. K. Kanthasamy, a lawyer whose work included the founding of the Home for Human Rights to assist the victims of violations of human rights, fund raising and networking for Tamil support groups and rehabilitation efforts for Tamil refugees, was one such individual.

Mr Santasilan Kadirgamar, a Sri Lankan lecturer now living in Japan, gave a presentation and led the discussion.

Expressing deep concern and grievance over the disappearance of Mr. Kanthasamy, the gathering adopted an appeal concerning the present situation in Sri Lanka:–

'The prevailing situation in Sri Lanka continues to be a matter of grave concern. People from all walks of life, Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims, have become victims of the unending violence, indiscriminate killings, illegal detention, torture and disappearances that take place almost daily in Sri Lanka.

'We appeal to all parties involved in this conflict, including the government of Sri Lanka and its security force, the Indian Peace Keeping Forces, and the armed organizations among the Sinhalese and Tamils to restore democratic processes and to respect human rights, especially of youth, the oppressed and the poor, and to stop the senseless killings and kidnapping of unarmed persons.

'We pray for peace with justice for all the people of Sri Lanka – including Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims.'

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Sept 8 *7.30 p.m. Sarod recital by Ustad Amjad Ali Khan with Shaffat Ahmed Khan on Tabla at Queen Elizabeth Hall, South Bank Centre, London SE1. Box Office Tel: 01-928 8800.*

Sept 9 *6.30 p.m. Uduvil Girls' College U.K. Alumni meeting and dinner at Putney Methodist Church Hall, Gwendolen Avenue, London SW15. For tickets and information Tel: 01-470 2641, 01-543 3008, 0564 774852.*

Sept 16 *7.00 p.m. Chundikuli & St Johns' Past Pupils' Association A.G.M. & Dinner at Finchley Manor Hill School, Summers Lane, London N12. Further information from 01-368 2129, 0702 524661, 0727 59614.*

Sept 17 *1 p.m. Skanda Varodaya College Old Students' Association A.G.M., Reunion Lunch & Variety Entertainment at Lola Jones Hall, Greaves Place, off Garratt Lane, London SW17 0NE. For tickets and information Tel: 01-681 2052, 01-692 0823, 0892 824661.*

Sept 30 *6.00 p.m. Jaffna Central & Vembadi Old Boys' & Old Girls' Associations Dinner & Disco at Lola Jones Hall, Greaves Place, off Garratt Lane, London SW17 0NE. For tickets and information Tel: 01-543 1595, 01-542 1575, 01-995 6054, 0474 61600.*

At Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 4A Castletown Road, London W14 9HQ Tel: 01-381 3036/ 4608

Sept 3 *10.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. Wholeday Yoga Seminar by B.K.S. Iyengar Group.*

Sept 4 *7.00 p.m. Ganesh Chaturthi – Bajan, Puja, & Prasad. All welcome.*

Sept 9 *7.00 p.m. Sitar Recital by Nishat Khan with Anindo Chatterjee on Tabla.*

Sept 22 *7.30 p.m. Bharata Natyam by Prakash & Nina.*

BRITISH ASSOCIATION OF YOUNG MUSICIANS

Young musicians resident in U.K. and interested in Carnatic Music and Dance have recently banded themselves together as the British Association of Young Musicians. They propose to popularise the study of these ancient art forms and have chalked out an ambitious programme of concerts, quiz sessions, speeches, exhibitions, essay competitions etc.

An Essay Competition on Carnatic Music has been organised for students divided into two groups viz Juniors – Not over 12 on 30.9.89 and Seniors – Not over 21 on 30.9.89. The essay topics are Juniors – Musical Scales in Carnatic Music and Seniors – Raga Systems in Carnatic Music. Entries close on 30.9.89. For further particulars please contact Hony. Secretary, 2 James Cottages, Eynsford Road, Crockenhill, Kent BR8 8JT.

The final scene of the play 'Mullil Aadum Malarkal' staged by the Eelam Tamil Association of New South Wales, Australia on 15.7.89.

TAMIL MAGISTRATES IN FIJI

Two Tamil lawyers have taken their oaths as Resident Magistrates in Fiji. They are Mr. V.P. Sundralingam and Mr. Ramachandran Rudranathan.

Mr. Sundralingam had practiced civil and criminal law before appointment to the Judiciary as a magistrate in which capacity he served in many districts throughout Sri Lanka including Colombo. He was a district judge before leaving for Fiji.

Mr. Rudranathan has wide experience in local government laws and disciplinary inquiries.

MURUGAN TEMPLE FOR WASHINGTON

The construction of the Murugan temple of North America began on June 4 marked by week-long celebrations including discourses on Lord Murugan.

The temple is being built in Washington near the head-quarters of the National Aviation and Space agency. A sri Shiva-Vishnu temple will also be constructed almost simultaneously.

Sri Krupananda Variar and Sri Swami Satchithananda presided over the ceremonies.

Dr Gopal Guruswamy, president of the temple, said the funds for the temple were being contributed by Tamils and non-Tamils in the United States and Canada.

The Tamil Nadu Government has sanctioned Rs. 300,000 for the local costs to be incurred in India.

Dr. Guruswamy said the immediate goal was to raise $600,000 for the first phase of the construction. The temple would probably cost $1.2 millions, he said.

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MATRIMONIAL

Jaffna Hindu brother *seeks suitable partner for his U.K. qualified professional brother, 32, working in U.K. Horoscope, details and photograph to M 307, c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu parents *seek partner under 35 years, working abroad, for their professionally qualified accountant daughter also working abroad. Reply with details and horoscope to M 310, c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu parents *in USA seek professional groom for daughter, 22, completing university, father professor. Details to M 311, c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Tamil Christian parents *permanent residents Australia, seek groom for daughter, age 26, 5'5", fair complexion holding staff grade job and doing further studies. Reply with full details to M 312, c/o Tamil Times.*

Hindu Tamil doctor *seeks suitable partner for doctor son, 26, British citizen. Reply with horoscope and photograph M 313, c/o Tamil Times.*

Brother *seeks partner for professionally qualified British citizen brother, 33 years, Tamil Hindus preferred. Details to M 314, c/o Tamil Times.*

Brother *seeks young educated partner for Catholic sister in Colombo, 26 years, qualified doctor, willing to emigrate. M 315, c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindu Brother *seeks qualified partner, midforties for attractive sister, innocent divorcee, employed accounting field U.K. M 316 c/o Tamil Times.*

Jaffna Hindus *seek qualified professional, preferably accountant or engineer for their only daughter, 29 plus, B.A. (Maths) Hons and B.Com Hons with two parts CIMA. Two brothers are medical doctor and final MBBS and two brothers accounting students. Only one willing to settle down overseas or Australia must write in confidence to P.O.Box 6957, Boroko, Papua, New Guinea. If groom has any cousin sisters marriage can be arranged for one of the medical students. Please send chart and other details.*

Jaffna Hindu brother *seeks groom for graduate sister, 30, in well established position in city. Permanent resident and U.K educated. Chart and details to M 317 c/o Tamil Times.*

Aunt seeks for Jaffna Christian good looking niece, 25, qualified accountant, professionally qualified partner with sober habits. Send full details to M 318 c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu unencumbered lady, *late forties, British citizen, owning house, property, car, permanent employee, seeks marriage partner, companion. M 319 c/o Tamil Times.*

WEDDING BELLS

We congratulate the following couples on their recent marriage.

Asokan *son of Mr and Mrs A. Segaratnasingam, Varuthalaivilan, Tellippalai, Sri Lanka and* **Vasanthy** *daughter of Mrs C.E. Anandarajan and the late Mr. C.E. Anandarajan, former Principal, St Johns' College, Jaffna at St Johns' Church, Chundikuli on 1.7.89.*

Vimalan *son of the late Mr V. Jeganathan and Mrs K. Jeganathan, 18/6 Hampden Lane, Colombo 6 and* **Komathy Kowshala** *daughter of Mr and Mrs Loganathan, 6 Vernon Avenue, London E12 6DE on 20.8.89 at London Sri Murugan Temple. London E12.*

Balakumar *son of Mrs K. Wijeratnam, 41 Mary's Road, Bambalapitiya, Colombo 4 and the late Mr Wijeratnam and* **Thulasi** *daughter of Mr & Mrs Manickavasagar, 45 Station Road, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka on 21.8.89 at Saraswathy Hall, Colombo 4.*

OBITUARIES

Mrs Mercy P. Thirumany *P.I.S. nee Lee passed away peacefully on 21.7.89 leaving behind her loving husband and three children Ruby, George and Diamond and a host of relatives and friends. Funeral held same day from 72 Jalan Kemajuan (12/18) 46200 Petaling Jaya to Trinity Methodist Church. Grateful thanks to Doctors, Staff of University Hospital (Emergency and Ward 13A), Pastors and all in attendance.*

Mr. Muthiah Samuel Thambithurai *retired teacher, St Johns College, Jaffna, passed away on 31.7.89 at his son's residence – 12 Swartz Lane, Chundikuli, Sri Lanka.*

J.K. Retnanandam *husband of late Daisy and late Dr. Pakkiam, father of Raj, Sotha Vethanayagam, Chella (all of Canada), Chutta (U.S.) departed 7th June 1989. – 108 Milbourne Road East, Edmonton, Canada.*

IN MEMORIUM

In loving memory of **Mrs Sinnathangam Suppiah** *(Retired Head Mistress, Arunasalam Vidyasalai, Alaveddy, Sri Lanka) on the first anniversary of her passing away on 20.8.88.*

Sadly missed and lovingly remembered by her children Sivathasan and Sivarupavathy; daughter-in-law Sivadevi; son-in-law Sivasubramaniam and grand-children Kuhan, Nirupa, Meera, and Parathan – 303 Hempstead Road, Hempstead, Gillingham, Kent ME7 3QJ.

Chelliah Kandasamy *Telecommunication Engineer, who passed away on 7.9.88.*

Everlasting in your memories
To all who knew you
For selfless service without fear or favour
In God you found peace and contentment
In you we found love and happiness
you are away from our sight
But never from our thoughts

Sadly missed and fondly remembered by your everloving wife Pushparani; children Ranjini, Ranjan, Mohan, and Raji; son-in-law Nadesan and daughters-in-law Rajarajeswari and Ranjini – 58 Magowar Street, Girraween. NSW2145, Australia.

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Mrs Nagaratnam Subramaniam
beloved wife of the late Sinnathamby Subramaniam of Manipay, Sri Lanka; mother of Sivagnanam (U.K.), Kumarasingham, Mrs Neelakanthi Subramaniam, Mrs Nagaletchumy Thirunathan, Mrs Loganayaky Swaminathan, Mrs Thirupathy Pathmanathan, and Bahiravathy (Nona) Pathmanathan (all of Sri Lanka); sister of Cameron Thangammah (Sri Lanka) and the late K. Poopalan (Kuala Lumpur) who passed away on 14.8.88.– 122 Alexandra Road, London SW19.

First death anniversary of **Gunaratna Shanmuganathan** *(known as G.S. Nathan) who passed away on 26th August 1988. Sadly missed and fondly remembered by his loving wife Sotheeswary; children Radhika, Sangeetha, and Laksmanan – 50 Leighton Street, West Croydon, U.K.*

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